UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Altgeld of Illinois

H. R. MUSSEY

War Teaching in the Schools

EDWIN D. MEAD

The Coming International Opium Conference

JULIA ELLSWORTH FORD

VOLUME XCIV NUMBER 2

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIV THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1924 NUMBER 2

". . . Men who, in spite of all good reasons for apprehension, feel within themselves the necessity for courage; who consider it necessary that certain things be said and done even if they cannot deny that no immediate practical end is attained thereby; who would rather act foolishly than dishonorably. They feel within themselves the right and the duty to confess and to defend their peculiarity."

—G. F. Nicolai, in "The Biology of War."

The one overshadowing issue in this campaign is the challenge to the organization of a Third Party which shall accomplish for America what the British Labor Party has accomplished for Great Britain. Even though everything said by Republicans and Democrats in praise of themselves and in denunciation of their Progressive opponents were true, we should still vote for the La Follette and Wheeler ticket. Let us agree, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Coolidge is a strong, silent heroic leader, an executive of tried courage and ability, the greatest president since Abraham Lincoln. Let us agree, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Davis is not only a polished gentleman, but a man of unsurpassed intellectual ability, a great lawyer, diplomat and statesman. Let us further agree, for the sake of argument, that Mr. La Follette is what General Dawes calls him, a dangerous man, a demagogue, a "red" who seeks the overthrow of our American institutions. What of it? How do these "facts" touch the problem now before us in this campaign? Personalities come and go—men rise, and fall, and pass away. But great forces of political organization, economic struggle, social idealism remain, and sweep on to good or ill through generations. What now confronts us in this country is an opportunity to establish a new party which shall represent the liberal and radical elements among our people. If millions of voters can be mobilized behind Mr. La Follette in November, it will not matter whether he is elected, whether Mr. Coolidge or Mr. Davis is elected, whether there is any election at all. Nothing will matter but the uprising of a vast multitude of citizens determined to have done with servitude, and thus to regain their freedom. This will make certain the definite organization of a Third Party at the January conference, and therewith the opening of a new era in the nation's history.

Now that "Mobilization Day"—or, as our troubled President preferred to call it, "Defence Day"—has come and gone, we desire to record our satisfaction that our military authorities, Weeks, Pershing & Co., conceived this wonderful idea and put it through. For the net result of the undertaking was hardly what these hard-boiled militarists anticipated. America is not yet Prussia! What they planned and confidently forecast was a great uprising of the American people, a rush to arms, a nation-wide holiday in which each man and woman would drop his work and take his place in the ranks of the country's defenders. Well—they got the "uprising" all right, but not exactly the kind that they desired. What this "Day" brought forth, aside from a little marching, some band-playing, and a few inconsequential speeches, was such a demonstration of pacifism as we have not seen since the opening of the Great War. Everywhere went up the cry of protest. In an instant the authorities were on the run, like a group of boys from an active hornet's nest. In the van of the assault, to their everlasting credit, be it said, were the churches, speaking out with unprecedented frankness and unanimity in denunciation of militarism. For once the churches were effective in a cause of true accord with the gospel which they are supposed to preach. We hold the Federal Council of Churches to be justified in claiming for the organized religious forces of America the chief glory of putting the administration to flight, and thus making of "Goose-Step Day" a magnificent demonstration of our love of peace and our hatred of war. O, how sorry Coolidge and Weeks were that they ever started this thing, how they hated to go through with it, and what a fizzle from their point of view they made of it! Not again, we may be sure, will this or any other administration touch this red-hot poker. We have had the last of mobilization days! But the victory for peace and goodwill, thus splendidly won, still remains to be completed. Now that the plot has been defeated, let us defeat the plotters. Every person who protested against this "Day" should now vote against the men responsible for it, on election day. Coolidge has shown what he is—a tool of the militarists. In contrast, look at La Follette! Can anybody imagine *him* ordering a "Goose-Step Day" if he were president?

The American Civil Liberties Union has announced the release of Joseph Baltrusaitis, the last of the federal political prisoners. Thus, at length, more than seven years after America's entrance into the Great War, and nearly five years after the Armistice, there comes to an end the story of tyranny and persecution incident to the "war to make the world safe for democracy." That story includes such events as the Conscription Act and the Espionage law—the postal censorship of the unspeakable Burleson—the autocracy of Attorney General Gregory and the mad hysteria of his successor, A. Mitchell Palmer—the secret police activities of Detective Burns, rivaling in lawlessness and arrogance the methods of the dethroned Tsar—the arrest and conviction of 'Gene Debs and hundreds of other less conspicuous citizens for the crime of opinion—the punishment of conscientious objectors in the army, so admirably told by Norman Thomas in his recent book—the "red" raids —the deportation of aliens—the scattering of the I. W. W.—the suppression of the Communists, and the arrest and trial of their leaders. What a tale!—unparalleled in American history, unmatched outside the annals of the most absolute tyrannies of other days. We have conviction to believe that the time is not far distant when Americans will call these deeds by their right names, brand the men responsible for them with eternal infamy, and record the period which knew them as the most shameful in our history. Meanwhile we like to remember that there were the faithful few who never compromised, who fought in perilous days and at heavy personal cost for the maintenance of the constitutional rights and privileges thus wantonly outraged by the government, and who never ceased laboring for the restoration of justice and the release of the victims of injustice until now the last one of all the list has been set free. This release of Baltrusaitis follows hard upon the overthrow of Daugherty, the discharge of Burns, and the re-establishment of former standards by Attorney General Stone, to show that a new era has come, and America is once more America!

There are still other signs of the restoration of this country to sanity and health. Thus the platforms of both the old parties affirm their unqualified belief in the constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly. We do not fool ourselves with any idea that these pledges to freedom are sincere. The Democratic Party, which made of the Constitution "a scrap of paper" during the reign of Woodrow Wilson, and the Republican Party, which aided and abetted the Democrats in this foul business of the assassination of the liberties of a great people, would both be instantly guilty of the crime again if occasion called. Let war be declared, or let the radicals develop a really formidable third party movement, and the First Amendment would again be defied as speedily and effectively as it was before. But it is significant of the changing temper of the times that both these parties should feel it necessary to organize this masquerade ball in order to catch the approval of the people. The same thing holds true of the candidates. Take Mr. Davis, for example! In his Labor Day address at Wheeling, West Virginia, he said:

> Freedom of speech—which means the right to say things that displease as well as the things that please those in power; freedom of assembly, freedom of labor, freedom of contract, freedom of the press, freedom in matters of religious belief and practice—these are rights too sacred to be trifled with.
>
> There is no danger in their exercise. It is the attempt at their suppression that leads to excess or explosion. I do not envy the frame of mind which causes some men to charge all who disagree with them with plotting the destruction of the Republic.
>
> To judge from some recent utterances there are those in this country who see a conspiracy whenever three workmen meet together, a riot when their numbers grow to ten and a revolution if it reaches a hundred. Around every corner lurks a Red, and nothing but the utmost vigilance of these self-appointed savers will rescue the country from the destruction he is plotting.
>
> Of course, in a country so diversified as ours many mistaken ideas are set afloat. Wild theories of government and of society are thrown up in a population that contains so many sorts of men. But I am one of those who continue to believe that the best disinfectant, moral or physical, is fresh air. The best defense against the tyranny of the few or the despotism of the many is free and open debate. I prefer liberty with all its perils, including the liberty to make mistakes, to any system by which the Government seeks to set itself up as the universal shepherd of us all.

This is entertaining as coming from a man who was a member of an administration which not merely "trifled with" sacred rights, but sand-bagged them, trampled on them, mutilated them, destroyed them. What did John W. Davis either do or say for American liberties when citizens were being imprisoned right and left for saying things displeasing to those in power, and those who protested against such illegal outrage were outlawed as traitors to the nation? Yet now, when everything is safe, he speaks right up. Very nice! But significant not of the courage or Americanism of the man, but of the people come again to themselves.

The retirement of Viscount Grey from public life was the occasion, in this country as well as in England, of a great outburst of eulogy of this statesman's services to the British realm. A Foreign Secretary whose work, beginning in 1905, came to its culmination with the Great War in 1914, assuredly stands in need of eulogy, and we grudge him not a word of the praise which has been spoken. We prefer to believe, however, that these enconiums are only a part of the still extant legend of the War, and that the judgment of history will be that spoken in 1914 by no less a man than J. Ramsay MacDonald:

> The European War is the result of the existence of the Entente and of the alliance, and we are in it as the result of Sir Edward Grey's policy. Half a dozen men brought Europe to the brink of the precipice.

Of these "half a dozen men," none was more influen-

tial and only one more guilty than Sir Edward Grey. A reading of Spender's "The Life of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman" shows that from the beginning of his career, Sir Edward was an out-and-out imperialist—one of the little group of Liberals, for example, who held up the hands of Balfour and Chamberlain in the Boer War. As Foreign Secretary he accepted "the continuity of foreign policy" in Morocco, supported Tsarist Russia, engineered the infamous partition of Persia, and engaged England in collusion with all that was dangerous in the reactionary conspiracies of continental Europe. The crown of all his policy was his military alliance with France, as the crown of all his infamy was his lie to the House of Commons that this alliance did not exist. We can afford to be patient until history deals with this man as he deserves. Meanwhile the *Daily Herald,* official organ of the British Labor Party, has well anticipated the verdict:

> If men in positions of authority, answerable for the lives and destinies of masses of their fellow countrymen, are to be judged not on their private virtues, but on the results of their work in terms of human happiness or misery, the judgment passed on Edward Grey must be the severest passed on any Foreign Secretary in our history.
>
> His accusers are an army of the slain, more vast, more piteous than that which cried out against Pitt, Castlereagh or Palmerston. There is no defense for men who lie to the nations which trust them. The consequence of Grey's lies was immeasurable suffering and the black catastrophe which put back, perhaps for many generations, the slow march of human progress.

Papers from India report the swift rallying of the Indian people to Gandhi's support in his struggle with the Das party, and interpret the outcome of the meeting of the Congress Committee, which so disheartened the Mahatma himself, as a great victory for the Non-Co-operation cause. Gandhi met determined opposition at this meeting, it is true; but what is now becoming evident is that Gandhi met this opposition without compromising, defeated it without bitterness, and held the two factions together in deeper spiritual accord than ever. What was plainly feared on both sides was a division of forces in the face of the enemy. This Gandhi prevented by a humility so touching, a tolerance so fine and genuine, a love even of his most unqualified opponents so sincere and beautiful, that all, regardless of opinion, abdicated anew to his sublime spiritual ascendancy. Never was there a greater triumph. And it was the triumph of the non-resistant principle as perfectly embodied in one of the greatest souls of history. Non-resistance is impossible, say the sceptics all about us; give us some evidence that it can be made to work! And here in India, right before our face and eyes, we see a man who is living the non-resistant life daily and hourly, and achieving results which have captured the attention and hold the wonder of the world. Again there are none so blind as those who will not see! As regards the situation which we have been reporting in these columns, we believe that the "crisis" in India is past. Gandhi is again in control. His matchless spirit will again enkindle the nation—his leadership lift the movement out of the slough of compromise and fear into which it has fallen. With health restored, he can go to the common people once more, and find in them the support which unbelieving leaders have betrayed. When the All-India Congress next assembles, we shall see the Non-Co-operation campaign again under full headway, and the Empire again shaken to its foundations. What will MacDonald and the Labor Party do, when confronted by this great movement of liberation?

This is what we call real news! It's the report that Professor Mario de Martino-Fusco, paleographer and archivist of the state library in Naples, has found the lost books of Livy. Before this editorial note appears the report may be denied, or corrected. But, if true, it interests us more than anything else that is happening at the present moment, just as Lord Carnarvon's unearthing of the tomb of King Tut held us enthralled some months back. The lost books of Livy, it will be remembered, have been missing for 1400 years. Of the entire 142 books of the "Annalles" known to have been written by the great Roman historian, only 35 have come down to our time. Of the rest there exist only brief and unsatisfactory epitomes made by later scholars familiar with the whole work. The lost books cover some of the most important and least understood periods in the life of the ancient city, and their discovery therefore is a matter of profound concern. It seems too good to be true that these vanished manuscripts should be discovered after all these centuries, but how can such a report have started from such a source unless there is some truth in it? If true, we can measure the excitement among scholars whose business it is to deal with these matters by the thrill felt by a mere amateur like ourself. Lord Macaulay, who admired Livy profoundly and knew his extant writings practically by heart, declared that he would give years of his life to be able to see these lost volumes. And now they may be in our hands! It is a momentous prospect, which distracts us utterly from the Dawes Plan, the Prince of Wales, the League of Nations meeting, the world-fliers, the presidential election, and other matters of contemporary importance. Now if we could only find the poems of Sappho, the lost dramas of Aeschylus, an undestroyed copy of Byron's autobiography, and a few other missing masterpieces, we would be ready to chant "Nunc dimittis."

Altgeld of Illinois

America has known no more truly tragic figure than John Peter Altgeld. Illinois, imperial domain of corn and hogs, has produced few heroes, but thirty years ago she had a governor that was a man, and she knew it not. A generation ahead of his time, he saw the light where others saw but darkness. An imperious inner voice bade him live the truth, though it carry him through a life-long Gethsemane.

> For when I saw him and took his hand,
> The childlike blueness of his eyes moved me to tears,
> And there was an air of eternity about him,
> Like the cold, clear light that rests at dawn on the hills!

Knowing full well his inevitable failure, he yet could make no choice but to do the right deed in downright fashion, in a crisis choosing defeat and opprobrium, not once, but twice and thrice, because there lay God's truth. So they crucified him. Politically defeated, financially ruined, robbed by unkind fate of all credit for extraordinary services to the state and the people that he loved so well, loathed and despised and spit upon by the worthy and respectable, he died at last, in poverty and failure and contumelious neglect. Today his very name is all but forgotten, or is remembered with curses and derision. Now that he has been a quarter-century gone, another Illinoisan has at last given us a connected, understanding account of this lonely, defeated, everlastingly victorious martyr-hero.*

Of Altgeld's early struggles with poverty, or of his legal and judicial career, little need be said. A lawyer of extraordinary ability, he was a mordant critic of the legal system and of the injustice done the poor and weak under the forms of law. A successful business man, he was interested, not in getting wealth, but in making industry serve the disadvantaged man, who needed to be made more capable. A judge who achieved high reputation for fearlessness, independence, impartiality and courtesy, he yet declared: "The judge too often, unintentionally and unconsciously, becomes merely the expression of what is for the time the dominant influence of the land. . . . It requires tremendous strength of character to rise above it and be guided solely by the pole-star of justice." He resigned his judgeship, only to be chosen governor a year later. In a remarkable Commencement address delivered shortly thereafter, we find him saying: "Being an officeholder myself, I may be pardoned for saying that most of the men who are holding the offices and wielding authority will soon be forgotten. . . . As a rule, they do not gaze into the firmament or measure the stars; their vision is limited to the weather vane on public buildings. . . . They are moral cowards, holding the penny of immediate advantage so close to their eyes as to shut out the sunlight of eternal principles."

Such was the man chosen, by a strange turn of fortune, to be governor of Illinois in 1892, in a sodden period of public morals and social life. Came three lightning flashes that revealed the man: Altgeld's pardon of the Chicago "anarchists," his controversy with President Cleveland in the railroad strike of 1894, and his veto of Charles T. Yerkes' "eternal-monopoly" bills. The man thus revealed was despised and rejected by the wise and the good, who could not comprehend what it was that differed so sharply from their own smooth conformity.

At this date there is no need to rehearse the incidents of the pardoning of the anarchists, an act now universally agreed by all informed persons to have been a simple doing of justice to three common men irreparably wronged as an incident of a wild hysteria that had swept the entire city and country seven years earlier, and had made of their so-called trial an empty form. Altgeld might well have pardoned them as an act of clemency, and for such action he would probably have received praise rather than blame, but his honesty would allow no such course. A laborious legal analysis proved beyond doubt that the men had been the victims of monstrous injustice. Our "legal process" had unjustly sent five men to death and shut three others up in prison for five years. The community had done judicial murder. On Governor Altgeld lay the duty to point it out.

And now behold the man! Unquestioned leader of his party in the state, with an eager eye on a seat in the Senate of the United States, he was warned that his proposed action would wreck his own career and bring disaster on his party, and he knew that it was true. "Make no mistake . . . ," he said; "if I do it I will be a dead man politically." And then, choosing principle instead of success: "As for our party, that must stand or fall by its principles and its policy. As for myself, no man has the right to allow his ambition to stand in the way of the performance of a simple act of justice." Those three obscure, much-wronged workingmen were pardoned in a message that scathingly arraigned the "machinery of justice" and the society that perverted it to such monstrous injustice. From that hour John P. Altgeld was a doomed man.

A few months later, with the resulting storm of calumny and obloquy still roaring about the governor's head, came the great railroad strike, a landmark in our social history. Mr. Browne flatly states "that the railway managers in Chicago deliberately conspired to prevent State intervention and to secure Federal intervention as the most effective means of breaking

*Altgeld of Illinois. By Waldo R. Browne. B. W. Huebsch, Inc.

the strike and destroying the American Railway Union," that the Federal government "worked hand-in-glove with the illegal General Managers' Association to effect the latter's purposes," and that President Cleveland's administration "assumed throughout the role of a remorseless strike-breaker, without making a single effort at impartial investigation of the existing trouble or a single attempt toward securing peaceful settlement of the points at issue." While Governor Altgeld had been extraordinarily zealous in honoring requests for troops to keep order in all parts of the state throughout the strike, his duty now obliged him to call the president of the United States sharply to account for an illegal use of his powers, requesting the withdrawal of Federal troops and the handing of the situation over to the State authorities, who were abundantly able and willing to take care of it. Once more this "foreign viper" who had been "the champion of anarchy" took his stand simply on law and justice. He had his reward. His name was blazoned all over the country as that of one who favored "free riots," while the heroic president was lauded as the champion of law and order. Today those who are willing to learn know that Cleveland was wrong and Altgeld was right—but Altgeld lies sleeping.

The railroad strike was lost and a year passed. Charles T. Yerkes was seeking in Springfield a ninety-nine year monopoly for his Chicago traction enterprises. With unblushing bribery the bills had been put through both houses of the legislature, and they came to the governor for signature. A veto would do no good; for it was generally conceded that Mr. Yerkes' henchmen had plenty of votes to override it. At the moment, Governor Altgeld, who had been engaged in a desperate effort to save from ruin the enterprise in which his whole personal fortune was invested, the Unity Building, had reached the end of his resources and faced the loss, through foreclosure proceedings, of every cent he owned. An agent of Mr. Yerkes laid before him an offer of a half million dollars to refrain from vetoing the bills—which were bound to be passed, anyway. He vetoed them in a scorching message, and then, with his back to the wall, single-handed, against impossible odds, waged a marvelous fight which by the narrowest margin prevented the overriding of his veto. His heroic struggle was watched in silence by public and press. Not until after his death, and from other lips, did the story of the offered bribe become known. When he died, it was only the subscription of friends that provided his widow with the means of life.

The mists of thirty years close about him; the battle that he waged still goes on. Today, those who will are able to perceive a little of the lonely greatness of the man, to understand something of the motives that actuated him, to get a glimpse of what he contributed to the ongoing life of the people who reviled him while he lived and who forget him now that he is dead. Lesser toilers in the age-long struggle for a society based on justice and love cannot too often recall the sublime faith that actuated him, a faith expressed in the closing words of his last public address, uttered a few hours before his death:

> I am not discouraged. Things will right themselves. The pendulum swings one way and then another. But the steady pull of gravitation is toward the center of the earth. Any structure must be plumb if it is to endure, or the building will fall. So it is with nations. Wrong may seem to triumph. Right may seem to be defeated. But the gravitation of eternal justice is toward the Throne of God. Any political institution that is to endure must be plumb with that line of justice.

To live and act unswervingly in such a faith is not to win fame or fortune, or success as success is counted, or even the poor recompense of posthumous glory. None of these were the lot of John P. Altgeld. But as his biographer truly observes: "Although his name may be forgotten, he lives and will continue to live in the perpetual strivings of mankind toward a better collective existence." Yes, the poet is right:

> Sleep softly . . . eagle forgotten . . . under the stone,
> Time has its way with you there, and the clay has its own.
> Sleep on, O brave-hearted, O wise man, that kindled the flame—
> To live in mankind is far more than to live in a name,
> To live in mankind, far, far more . . . than to live in a name.

H. R. Mussey.

Jottings

In a recent issue (August 21st), Unity published in its Correspondence column letters from New York, California, Canada, France, Greece and Bulgaria. Is this not impressive evidence of the world-wide field which this paper covers?

What liars these campaign managers are! "Coolidge will carry Wisconsin"—"Davis will carry Massachusetts"! They pay a poor compliment to the intelligence of the electorate when they assume that they can catch votes by such yarns as these.

Here is an illuminating bit of catechism at the Williamstown Institute of Politics:

> Admiral Phelps: "I notice that the chairman, speaking of the progress of the League, mentions that it has settled the question of the Aaland islands and some other boundary disputes. Has there any question arisen yet for settlement as between the great powers forming the League respecting their own possessions?"
> Sir Arthur Salter: "The answer to Admiral Phelps's question is 'No.'"

The most popular American writers in Russia today are Jack London, Upton Sinclair, O. Henry, and

Edgar Rice Burroughs, author of the "Tarzan" books. It is easy to understand why London and Sinclair are popular, as it is safe to argue from such popularity abroad an immortality not usually conceded to these two writers by their countrymen. But Henry and Burroughs!—these are nuts we cannot crack.

Senator Wheeler's statement that Butte, Montana, has two newspapers, one Republican, the other Democratic, and both owned by the same corporate interest, is the best bit of evidence we have seen that the two old parties are the two wings of the same bird of prey. How much longer, we wonder, are the people going to stand this mockery!

There is an eternal fitness in things! A Republican campaign manager is organizing a society of the deaf and dumb to support Mr. Coolidge; and General Pershing has been invited, on his retirement from the army, to join a Wild West Show. J. H. H.

War Teaching in the Schools

The recent observance of the annual founder's day at the Roxbury Latin School, according to the report in the Boston *Herald,* was devoted to addresses to the boys by a General and a Major, both exhorting their young hearers to prepare themselves for a future war, which was "sure to come." "We must make it clear to those who want to fight," said the General, "to those who would pick a quarrel with us, that we are so prepared for them that they will be slow to do it." This preparedness, he said, was "one of the obligations the founders of the School laid on the pupils"; and the Major declared such preparedness for war to be in behalf of "the traditions and ideals" of the School.

Every student of the founding and history of the Roxbury Latin School knows that this is simply untrue. And altogether isn't this a strange program to present to a body of Boston schoolboys in the year of our Lord 1924—especially in the Latin School founded by John Eliot, in the home of Edward Everett Hale?

To whom do these warriors refer when they tell the boys to be ready for people who "would pick a quarrel with us"? No people ever yet picked a quarrel with us. Why should any begin now? In view of the fact that our Senators have recently been "picking a quarrel" with Japan, might it not have been more timely and wholesome for the General and the Major to charge the boys to frown upon all such unfriendliness and buncombe in our American politics? What should have been pointed out to them is the pitiful contrast between the boorish and pagan proceedings of our Senate and the dignified and Christian course of the Japanese government during the mournful conflict, a conflict from which serious friction might have resulted, but for the wisdom and honor of President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes. Impartial outsiders simply cannot understand how a responsible legislative body can take such a wanton attitude toward a friendly power as that of the United States Senate toward Japan in the recent debate on immigration. It would be a salutary lesson for some of our Senators and some others to read such editorial comment on the debate as that in the *Manchester Guardian.* It is such contemptuous arrogance and rudeness that start wars; and the way to prepare for peace—this is the thing to say to schoolboys, in pointing the moral—is not in trying to scare weaker nations by proclaiming that we are quite ready for a "fight" with any one of them that ventures to "pick a quarrel," but in cultivating toward all nations good manners and good will. Talk about "fighting" and "picking quarrels" is the mark of the bully, whether on the playground or in the Senate. It is not the thing to encourage, either among Boston schoolboys or Washington politicians.

The recent Pan-American Congress at Santiago revealed in a way that startled some of us a wide-spread feeling in South America, provoked by certain courses of ours in the last twenty-five years, at Panama, in Porto Rico, Haiti, and elsewhere, that Uncle Sam is something of a bully, and that he makes specious appeals to the Monroe Doctrine oftener for selfish purposes of his own than in the interest of general American security and freedom. Whether or not this suspicion is exaggerated, our young men in the schools, who are to be voters tomorrow, should be appealed to, to settle it once for all that no excuse whatever for it shall remain.

Our Latin School boys might consider how it would seem in Argentina and Chile, whose people have erected a statue of Christ high up in the Andes, at their frontier, as a pledge of perpetual peace, to learn that here, where Charles Sumner, himself a Boston Latin schoolboy, taught that the true grandeur of nations consists not in war and military glory, but in the friendly co-operation of peoples for civilization, schoolboys were being urged to train themselves to "fight," so as to be ready for anybody "picking a quarrel" with them! Those South Americans would say: "You see—a generation of bullies, trying to raise up a new generation of bullies!" Both charges would be false; but it is for our American youth highly to resolve that no color shall be left for any such talk whatever.

No gentleman, boy or man, is ever "picked upon"; and no gentleman ever "picks upon" anybody else. Every gentleman is also stricter in holding himself to high standards than he is in censuring others. Our boys do not need to be warned of the danger of some nation unjustly attacking us, which is a wild fear. Secretary Hughes has just declared that we are in no danger from any quarter; and most sensible people knew it before he declared it. We haven't an enemy in the world, and shall not have any save of our own making. Our limitless resources and our geographical position, between two oceans, make us invulnerable. At this moment there are not a hundred Tripolitan pirates lying off our whole Atlantic coast. The only nation in possible position to attack us is Great Britain through Canada, requiring Canada's co-operation; and Britain is our best friend, with conflict with us opposed to her every interest. Should any hypothetical insanity ever prompt her to hostility, her transports with the two million men necessary for the first skirmish could

not start for the St. Lawrence without being heralded by a thousand wireless messages. Canada, moreover, would not co-operate, for she has a dozen relations with us to one with England; and we have between us the safest possible frontier, for a hundred years the one absolutely safe frontier in the world, because there is not a soldier nor a fort along its whole three thousand miles.

Our young scholars should be told that we have no need for anxiety about being "picked upon" by some stronger nation, for there are no stronger nations. And chiefly they should be told that we must have constant care lest, with our giant strength and with a Congress so often reckless and bumptious we "pick upon" some weaker people. They should be warned against such criminal folly as that with which we have ourselves started wars in the past. They should be told what Zachary Taylor and General Grant (then a lieutenant) thought of our war with Mexico, to which they had to go because they were in the regular army and under orders. "It was one of the most unjust wars," General Grant said in his later life, "ever waged by a stronger against a weaker people. It was a political war, and our troops were sent to provoke a fight."

Our young people should also be plainly told how Mr. Rhodes, our greatest historian of the period, condemned our entrance into war with Spain as weak and wrong and utterly unnecessary; and that General Woodford, our Minister to Spain at the time, and Secretary Long, himself a member of McKinley's Cabinet, felt the same.

Both these wars were great mistakes and great wrongs; and we do not want to see the schools made theatres for inflaming the military passion in our young men in ways that will promote the repetition of these costly errors. Repentance, unhappily, cannot cancel the terrible cost.

A program of speeches by professional soldiers, urging the young men to prepare for war and to be on the lookout for those who would "pick a quarrel" with their country, would be impossible today at Harrow or Rugby; and such a procedure in any English school under the control of the government would bring the sharpest reprimand.

A country-wide military performance like that advertised by our War Department to "mobilize" the whole nation on a given day — regulars, National Guard, butchers, bakers, and switch-men — in order to show in a dramatic way to every nation on earth that might be tempted to "pick a quarrel" with us how quickly and efficiently we could organize a "fight," would be impossible in England. The churches alone would shame such levity into silence. The iron of the war has not entered into our soul as it has entered into the soul of England. We experienced but little of its horror and its loss. But there is quite virtue enough to deal with this momentous proposal; and it is safe to prophesy that the melodramatic and mischievous program will go up in smoke. Mr. Hughes well says, "So far as we can see into the future we are safe from the slightest danger from aggression. There is no reason to demonstrate our ability to take care of ourselves for no one doubts it." With such an impious war game, at an hour when we claim desire to co-operate with bleeding Europe in organizing the world for peace, our own churches are quite competent to cope. If they need any help in the task, the working men and the women will give them all they want. But if the other churches have half the energy and devotion on this subject shown by the great Methodist body at its Springfield convention, they will need no re-enforcement, although they will have it from a hundred quarters.

There lie on my desk a dozen letters—one of them a post-card from Washington with a picture of the White house on the back—on which is stamped the jaunty summons: "Let's go! Citizens' Military Training Camps." These stamped envelopes come from all parts of the country, showing that the stamps are sent out to our post offices everywhere from a common center with instructions to use. I call this use of our post offices as recruiting stations dishonest. It is using government machinery for a purpose hateful to many of our people. The letters of David Starr Jordan, Charles E. Jefferson and Jane Addams are probably every day made the vehicles of calls to training for war!

The capital evil of all these flamboyant proclamations of "mobilization" and war games, of making the post offices beat the drum, and of jingo speeches in the schools—they creep into Omaha and Oakland doubtless as well as Roxbury—is that they foster everywhere, in boy and man, a false and mischievous psychology, a war psychology instead of a peace psychology. They perpetuate the idea that we are still living in the days of Napoleon and Cæsar instead of the of the days of Charles E. Hughes and Ramsay MacDonald. There was a time when men had to prepare for war, for war was a part of their business. It is not our business in the United States today. We have solemnly declared it, and sealed it in blood. To act as if our vow were a jest is the supreme recreancy.

We are just out of a great war to which our young men were persuaded to go on the assurance that it was "the last war," "a war to end war." "Never again," our President declared when it was over, would our country take part in another tragedy of that sort; and the world is establishing a League of Nations, a World Court and a system of arbitration treaties, to enable the nations to settle their differences by law instead of war. Almost every enlightened nation in the world, taking to heart the war's awful lesson, has joined the League and the Court; and we shall join tomorrow, as we should have joined yesterday. The American who does not know that this is the distinguishing and sovereign movement of the age does not know the world in which he lives. The American who at such a time can look backward and toy with the paraphernalia of war is false to the first principles of the republic.

M. Guizot once asked James Russell Lowell how long he thought our republic would endure. "I replied," says Lowell, "so long as the ideas of the men who founded it continue dominant." Foremost of these ideas was that they were not founding their new nation "merely to create more navies and armies, to perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe." "My first wish," said Washington, "is to see war, this plague of mankind, banished from the earth"; and Franklin and Jefferson were inspired by the same high purpose. They looked for a time when armies and navies should be reduced to the work of police; and the new republic was to lead the nations in a new era of peace and good will among men.

It is given to us to see the hour when at last their great vision of a united world is being fulfilled. No matter who deserves the most credit. For the moment

America lags. The youth of America will not let her lag. The "Youth Movement" in Europe is the most startling and most hopeful movement of the time. In Germany and France and England thousands of young men and women are rallying to a whiter standard and a loftier watchword than those which led their fathers to ruin. They will listen no more to vain talk of mobilizations and training camps and war games, of "picking quarrels" and "fights"—for they have seen what it all leads to. They will, if need be, eat black bread; but they will no more hate their enemies, for they recognize none, and will love all men as their brothers in a world commanded to peace. This "Youth Movement" has now crossed the ocean; we have heard it speak with power at Indianapolis and Louisville and Springfield, and it is spreading from sea to sea. It is sanctifying patriotism. Every healthy boy is a patriot; and every American boy must be taught to remember, with Lowell, that the most fatal flaw in our patriotism is failure to reverence the principles of the founders of the republic. The republic today looks to its youth —the boys and girls in the high schools, the young men and women in the colleges, the Christian Association youth, the Christian Endeavor youth—to herald the better day which the founders foresaw. They know that Washington did not found the nation for war games and war, but "to banish war from the earth." They believe that Jefferson meant what he said. *They believe that Christ meant what he said;*—and the future is theirs.

Boston, Mass. EDWIN D. MEAD.

"Grave Consequences"

Six Articles on the American-Japanese Situation

6.

AS A TRADE PROPOSITION

We look with hope toward the Pacific. Unlike the mentors who have been visiting us, I have cast my lot in with this Coast. I must be and I am deeply interested in its advancement.

In the first eight months of 1920 we sold to Asia and Oceania as follows:

To Dutch East Indies	$ 34,995,550
China	96,311,017
Australia	73,054,230
British India	65,744,078
The Philippines	61,090,161
Or a total of	$331,195,036

During the same period we sold to Japan $328,663,681. Japan bought of us within $2,531,355 of all Asia and Oceania combined. It is worth looking at the figures.

Japan is our best customer. A successful Japan is essential to this Coast. Is Asiatic trade really desirable? If so, we must remember two simple facts: First, for a long time to come she will be our best customer across the Pacific; second, her co-operation is essential if we make advances into northern and central Asia. We talk of great opportunities in Siberia and in Manchuria, in China. What chances have we of realizing them unless we have the friendly and hearty co-operation of Japan?

She desires our trade, and will do much to have it. She can, however, much better get along without us than we can without her. Here I am speaking especially as an inhabitant of the Pacific Coast. The East, of course, will still have the advantage of Europe and of South America, of Africa, and of certain rich islands. We, however, look toward the Orient and justly. There is no question of its importance. The only question is whether we are taking steps to get our proper share of its trade. Suppose by offending Japan we destroy her interest in trading with us. It is not impossible to do so. Suppose we drive her back upon her hinterland. She can find all that she needs there. Asia has resources immense and in large degree almost untouched. Japan, driven to seek trade relations elsewhere, can buy coal and iron, timbers and grains, cotton and wool, abundantly in Asiatic countries. A week ago in our "Inland Empire" I heard Spokane men tell of sending representatives to open a wheat market in Japan and northern China. A Japan insulted, hurt, and crowded, can get wheat without difficulty, by encouraging Siberian agriculture. Is it worth while to slap your best customer in the face? Is that the way to develop commerce?

Some weeks ago when the United States Supreme Court gave a decision supporting the legality of the recently-passed Alien Land Laws in California and Washington, I was astounded at the way in which the news was received. We lost no time in putting the laws into full effect. Our newspapers shrieked with joy at the idea of ejecting Japanese tenants. The Assistant District Attorney in our city hastened to announce the rigor with which he would see that the law was carried out to the letter. It would seem as if we might have shown some decency of spirit; if we had none, it would seem good business sense to make the application of the law as little harmful and unkind as possible; to have given laborers who in reality had done no crime a chance to extricate themselves from an unfortunate situation with as little loss and humiliation as possible.

It is now sixteen years since the menace of immigration ceased through the application of the gentlemen's agreement. We should try to treat those Japanese who are here as human beings. As a nation we are fond of boasting of our love of fair play and a square deal. It is a long time since the Japanese Government has really asked that immigration be permitted. They have accepted our point of view. While they cannot understand the readiness with which we admit white labor from Eastern Europe—almost without restriction—while they know that the laborers they have sent to this country, are cleaner, more industrious, more moral, than the hordes we have been receiving from some European districts, they have submitted to our decision.

As I understand it, Japan at present asks just two things: First, proper treatment of her citizens now in the United States. Their number is not great, they are not seditious or criminal elements in the population; they are industrious and hard-working; they are producers of the necessities of life—they deserve good treatment; second, recognition of the fact that she has loyally kept the gentlemen's agreement. In his letter Ambassador Hanihara suggested that the Japanese

Government would no doubt be ready to amend or modify the agreement if we desired. The Senate threw the whole thing overboard.

In a former article I raised the question whether it would be an advantage if Japan were ruined. It is not true that what has been done in the Senate is going to ruin the Inland Empire. It is true, however, that we have renedered her course more difficult than it was before. It is true that we have set an example which may be followed to her disadvantage and may seriously cripple her.

We seem to have played into the hands of others rather than to have acted in our own interests. There has been talk of war. Japan will not precipitate a war either with us, or with any European nation.

It is not impossible, however, that she may be forced into war, for which we will be to some degree responsible. Suppose war were to come. It would be a defensive war on the part of Japan. It is probable that in a defensive war she might hold her own. Suppose, however, that she were defeated, and that she were reduced to comparative impotency. What would be the certain result? Asia would be parcelled out overnight. Britain and France, and Russia (if imbued with the old Russian spirit), would divide the entire continent between them. One-half the world would be subject to exploitation by two or three selfish white nations. The basis for future wars, like the one so lately ended, would be laid. The only difference would be in the location of the battleground. When the partition of Asia—and Japan is all that has prevented the partition of Asia earlier—American trade with the Orient would vanish. So far as the United States is concerned the Pacific would be cleared of ships.

One last idea. We hope that Japan may not be driven into any war, either with us, or European nations. But every nation must have friends. Isolation may be splendid some times, but it is undesirable. Japan without friends here, will seek them elsewhere. It seems as if our nation were bound to drive three nations of the world—great nations—to desperation. There are two white nations looking for friends. They know Japan, and she knows them. They have not always been in harmony, but there is nothing in their past history to prevent their forming an alliance. It is not beyond the list of possibilities that Japan, Germany, and Russia, in their hour of humiliation and common distrust of outside nations, might form alliance. Such a thing is among the possible grave consequences of the moment's situation. —*Frederick Starr.*

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My Jail Experiences

IX

I have already dealt with the system of appointing convicts as officers or warders. I hold the system to be thoroughly bad and demoralizing. The prison officials know it. They say it is due to economy. They think that the jails cannot be efficiently administered with the present paid staff without supplementing it with convict officers. There is no doubt that unless the reform suggested by me in the last chapter is inaugurated, it is not possible to do away with the system of entrusting convicts with responsible duties without a very large increase in the prison expenditure.

However, it is not my purpose in this chapter to deal any further with prison reform. I simply wish to relate my happy experiences with the convict officers who were appointed to watch over and look after us.

When Mr. Banker and I were transferred to the Yerawada Central Prison, there was one warder and one *bardasi*. The latter is what the name implies, a mere servant. The convict warder whose acquaintance we first made was a Hindu from the Punjab side. His name was Harkaran. He was convicted of murder. The murder according to him was not premeditated but due to a fit of anger. By occupation he was a petty merchant. His sentence was fourteen years of which he had almost served nine years. He was fairly old. The prison life had told on him. He was always brooding and most anxious to be discharged. He was therefore morose and peevish. He was conscious of his high dignity. He was patronizing to those who obeyed and served him. He bullied those who crossed his path. To look at him, no one would think he could be guilty of murder. He could read Urdu fluently. He was religiously minded and was fond of reading bhajans in Urdu. The Yerawada library has a few books for prisoners in several Indian languages e. g., Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Gujrati, Sindhi, Canarese, Tamil. Harkaran was not above keeping and hiding trifles in defiance of jail regulations. He was in the majority. It would be regarded snobbish and foolish not to steal trifles. A prisoner who did not follow this unwritten law would have a bad time of it from his fellows. Ostracism would be the least punishment. If the whole of the jail-yard were to be dug up twelve inches deep, it would yield up many a secret in the shape of spoons, knives, pots, cigarettes, soap and such like. Harkaran being one of the oldest inmates of Yerawada was a sort of purveyor-general to the prisoners. If a prisoner wanted anything, Harkaran was the supplier. I wanted a knife for cutting my bread and lemons. Harkaran could procure it if I would have it through him. If I wanted to go through the elaborate process of asking the Superintendent, that was my business. I must be prepared for a snubbing. When we became friends he related all his wonderful exploits; how he dodged officials, how he procured for himself and others dainties, what skilful tricks were employed by prisoners to obtain what they wanted and how it was almost impossible (in his opinion) not to resort to these tricks, was described in minute detail and with much gusto. He was horrified to discover that I was neither interested in the exploits nor was I minded to join the trade. He endeavoured subsequently somewhat to repair the indiscretion he had let himself into, and to assure me that he had seen my point and that he would thenceforth refrain from the irregularities. But I have a suspicion that the repentance was put on. The reader, however, must not run away with the idea that the jail officials do not know these irregularities. They are all an open secret. They not only know them but often sympathize with the prisoners who do these tricks to make themselves happy and comfortable. They (the officials) believe in the doctrine of "live and let live." A prisoner who behaves correctly in the presence of his superiors, obeys their orders, does not quarrel with his fellows and does not inconvenience officials, is practically free to break any regulation for the sake of procuring greater comfort.

Well, the first acquaintance with Harkaran was not particularly happy. He knew that we were "important" prisoners. But so was he in a way. After all he was an officer with a long and honourable record of service behind him. He was no respecter of persons. Mr. Banker was torn away from me the very next morning. Harkaran allowed the full force of his authority to descend upon me. I was not to do this or that. I was not to cross the white line referred to in my letter to Hakimji. But I had not the faintest idea of retaliating or resenting what he said or did. I was too engrossed in my own work and studies even to think of Harkaran's simple and childish instructions. It gave me momentary amusement. Harkaran discovered his error. When he saw that I did not resent his officiousness, nor did I pay any attention to it, he felt non-plussed. He was unprepared for such an emergency. He therefore took the only course that was left open to him and that was to recognize my dissimilarity and respond to me when I refused to respond to him. My non-violent non-co-operation led to his co-operation. All non-violent non-co-operation, whether among individuals or societies, or whether between Governments and the governed, must lead ultimately to hearty co-operation. Anyway Harkaran and I became perfect friends. When Mr. Banker was returned to me he put the finishing touch. One of his many businesses in the jail was to boom me for all I was worth. He thought that Harkaran and others had not sufficiently realized my greatness. In two or three days time I found myself elevated to the position of a baby in woolens. I was too great to be allowed to sweep my own cell or to put out my own blankets for drying. Harkaran was all attention before, but now he became embarrassingly attentive. I could not do anything myself, not even wash a handkerchief. If Harkaran heard me washing it, he would enter the open bath-room and tear the kerchief away from me. Whether it was that the authorities suspected that Harkaran was doing anything unlawful for us or whether it was a mere accident, Harkaran was, to our sorrow, taken away from us. He felt the separation more perhaps than we did. He had a royal time with us. He had plenty of eatables and that openly from our rations, supplemented as they were with fruit that friends sent from outside. And as our fame was "noised abroad," Harkaran's association with us had given him an added status with the other prisoners.

When I was given permission to sleep on the cell verandah the authorities thought that it was too risky to leave me with one warder only. Probably the regulations required that a prisoner whose cell was kept open should have two warders to watch over him. It might even be that the addition was made for my protection. Whatever the cause, another warder was posted for night duty. His name was Shabaskhan. I never inquired about the cause but I thought that a Mahomedan was chosen to balance the Hindu Harkaran. Shabaskhan was a powerful Baloochi. He was Harkaran's contemporary. Both knew each other well. Shabaskhan, too, was convicted of murder. It resulted from an affray in the clan to which he belonged. Shabaskhan was as broad as he was tall. His build always reminded me of Shaukat Ali. Shabaskhan put me at ease the very first day. He said, "I am not going to watch you at all. Treat me as your friend and do exactly as you like. You will never find me interfering with you. If you want anything done I shall be only too happy if I can do it for you." Shabaskhan was as good as his word. He was always polite. He often tempted me with prison delicacies and always felt genuinely sorry that I would not partake of them. "You know," he would say, "if we do not help ourselves to these few things, life would be intolerable, eating the same things day in and day out. With your people, it is different. You come for religion. That fact sustains you, whereas we know that we have committed crimes. We would like to get away as soon as ever we can." Shabaskhan was the gaoler's favorite. Growing enthusiastic over him he once said, "Look at him. I consider him to be a perfect gentleman. In a fit of temper he has committed murder for which he truly repents. I assure you there are not many men outside who are better than Shabaskhan. It is a mistake to suppose that all prisoners are criminals. Shabaskhan I have found to be most trust-worthy and courteous. If I had the power I would discharge him today." The gaoler was not wrong. Shabaskhan was a good man, and he was by no means the only good prisoner in that gaol. Let me note in passing that it was not the gaol that had made him good. He was good outside.

It is customary in the jails never to keep a convict officer on the same duty for any length of time. Transfers constantly take place. It is a necessary precaution. Prisoners cannot be allowed, under the existing system, to develop intimate relations. We had therefore a most varied experience of convict officers. After about two months, Shabaskhan was replaced by Adan. But I must introduce this warder to the reader in the next chapter.

Young India. —*Mahatma Gandhi.*

THE SEARCH

I sought his love in sun and stars,
  And where the wild seas roll,
And found it not. As mute I stood,
  Fear overwhelmed my soul;
But when I gave to one in need,
I found the Lord of Love indeed.

I sought his love in lore of books,
  In charts of science' skill;
They left me orphaned as before—
  His love eluded still;
Then in despair I breathed a prayer;
The Lord of Love was standing there.

—*Thomas Curtis Clarke.*

The Coming International Opium Conference

The International Opium Conference, to be held in Geneva, this coming November should have *wide publicity*. No effort to abolish the opium trade can be successful unless there is a strong, vigorous public opinion back of it. Ellen La Motte says, "A conference at Geneva is about the safest place for *not* reaching the people. The reason that the traffic has been able to grow to its present dimensions is because the public is kept in the dark."

London is the proper place—better than New York, which would be second choice—because the English people are unaware of their opium traffic and the enormous sums derived from it. "Today their trade is greater than twelve years ago." (White Cross International Anti-Narcotic Society.)

The three nations primarily responsible are Great Britain, Persia and Turkey. Great Britain is the most powerful nation engaged in the opium traffic. Nothing can be done to check this trade until the British people themselves rise up and put a stop to it. When the conference takes place in Switzerland, hardly a word of it is likely to be published in the London papers, if one may judge from what happened in respect of the conferences held in the past two years. A conference in London would give this needed publicity.

The Hague Opium Convention in 1912 had as its object the suppression of trade in narcotic drugs. When this matter was handed over to the League of Nations, a resolution was offered by the Chinese delegate that opium production should be limited to the strict *medical and scientific needs* of the world. Yet, *through the League of Nations* two years ago, the words *"medical and scientific" were stricken out* and *"legitimate" substituted,* thus devitalizing the Treaty of 1912, permitting opium and its derivatives throughout the Orient and their entry into the United States.

Great Britain claims the right to reserve the privilege of furnishing the drug to her subjects in India. There are seven thousand shops in India and hundreds of chests of opium are sold every month at public auction. But we note she does not reserve this privilege for her people in England: *"The Times* of July 20, 1923, contained an account of a man convicted of having opium and opium-smoking implements in his possession, who was given three years in jail. The Recorder, in passing sentence, said that there was no doubt that the practice of taking cocaine and smoking opium was doing much to demoralize society. Feeling that this was so, Parliament this year increased the personal penalty from six months' imprisonment to ten years' penal servitude. Parliament was determined—and the Recorder, in his humble way, was determined to assist the Legislature—in excising this moral cancer from the social system." But many of the non-co-operators, following Mahatma Gandhi's instructions, trying to stop the opium traffic in India, are put in prison. These two standards as to the use of opium are rather difficult for the Orientals to understand.

At a previous conference, the Rt. Hon. Sastri, employed by the British Government, testified that the "Indian people insisted on sanctioning opium in India, alleging that it has long been used as a household remedy, that the people would revolt if deprived of this drug and that opium to the Indian was like tea to the English." The name the East Indians call this gentleman is not complimentary. I have since seen Sastri's confession of ignorance of the real state of affairs and his regrets to the Rev. C. F. Andrews, a fine Englishman who has lived in India many years. Now note the result of that false testimony: Mr. P. W. Wilson, English lecturer, quoted Sastri's words last winter at Columbia University in a discussion with Syud Hossain, a distinguished journalist from India, and he sings this lullaby to quiet the fears of the babe-like faith of the American people.

We have over a million addicts in America. We do not grow opium ourselves and can import only enough to make morphia for our medical needs, with but a small surplus for export to such countries as require it for medical purposes yet do not manufacture it themselves. Moreover, our Government is careful to ascertain that such quantities as we export are for genuine medical use and not for purposes of abuse. No longer can European morphia, etc., be sent to this country in bond for transshipment to the Orient and elsewhere. This Jones-Miller bill, which puts strict control on our narcotic traffic, was passed in 1922.

But we still treat many of our addicts as criminals in prison, and out, whereas, according to medical opinion, addicts can only be relieved of their frightful suffering and cured by gradually lessening the doses. "Almost every nation at Geneva, except the United States, derives revenues from opium." "Nine-tenths of the world's production is used for the purpose of revenue." (White Cross International Anti-Opium Society.)

France, with vast Colonial possessions, has begun to recognize the danger of opium and is taking active steps to suppress it. Within the past year, she has completely abolished it in her South Seas colonies, and is reducing it rapidly in Indo-China.

The opium used for eating and smoking is Indian opium. Turkey and Persia produce a finer grade, used in the manufacture of morphia. This has a distinct value, for, although it is abused, the world needs a certain amount of this opium for medical purposes. But the Indian opium has not even the excuse that it is useful in medicine, and *the sole object of its production is to supply smokers and eaters for revenue.*

If Great Britain could bring herself to reduce her opium output, Persia and Turkey would probably follow suit. The output from the British Government in India amounts to about 1,400 tons per year; from Persia, 162 tons; from Turkey, 250 tons. As the greatest producer, as the most powerful and influential of these three countries, Great Britain should lead the way in this reform and not hang back, excusing herself, until Persia or Turkey set the pace.

It is, therefore, up to Great Britain. Five thousand medical men in England made a public declaration, a few years ago, that opium smoking and eating is morally and physically a poison. Do our people or the English people know anything about this menace? Why not? Because the Conferences are held in Geneva, a city which will afford the least publicity.

Hong Kong, with a small population of 500,000, has secured, year by year, enough opium to satisfy the medical needs of 150,000,000 people. Where does it go? It is smuggled into China, to a friendly people. (Rev. C. F. Andrews.)

Judson Taylor, head of the Island Mission in China, says, "In eighty years the Protestant churches secured 80,000 church communicants. During that same eighty years period the British Government has created *150,000,000 victims of the opium habit.*"

After the war, the British Indian Government signed a contract with the British Hong Kong Government for another five years to supply opium in large monthly quantities. This was acknowledged in the House of Commons. (Rev. C. F. Andrews.)

Great Britain has now established a morphine factory in the Straits Settlement. (Oriental Research Library.) Opium has been pouring into Syria, Siam, North Borneo, Ceylon.

Great Britain is now the keeper of Mesopotamia, awarded to her by the League of Nations. Yet her first act on assuming control was to establish an opium monopoly there and *to sell opium for the purpose of raising revenue.* This presents an extraordinary spectacle—with one hand establishing an opium monopoly in a mandated territory and with the other signing the Covenant of the League of Nations, which includes adherence to the Hague Opium Convention, an international agreement supposedly designed to end the opium traffic. The League appears to have shut its eyes to this incongruity. Can the League not afford to risk the larger publicity and, if not, may one not assume that there are strong influences at work in favor of the least publicity?

Lord Robert Cecil came to this country to get us into the League of Nations. He claimed that the League has done "noble work" and "dealt vigorous blows" to the opium traffic. The League's sanction of opium production for "legitimate purposes" means the continued use for eating and smoking which, in certain of these far eastern countries, is legal, or "legitimate." Nothing particularly noble and vigorous about this, and, as we have mentioned, the League seems to have overlooked the Mesopotamia discrepancy. If the League could bring itself to hold this opium conference in London, questions like "legitimate" and Mesopotamia could come in for a good airing.

I cannot close without speaking of the magnificent campaign of the White Cross International Anti-Narcotic Society in Seattle, Wash., directed toward making public opinion throughout the United States. They are also in correspondence with ten thousand educators, and have written to every labor union and to members of the House of Commons of Great Britain, setting forth the serious world situation and urging co-operation.

This is India's great opportunity and she should not lose it. If India is a member of the League in *her own right,* she has a right to send delegations to this international conference that will truly represent her. If not, there should be other Indians of high standing present to protest that their country has never been properly represented—that such men as the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Mr. John Campbell and Lord Hardinge have been the exponents of the British rather than the Indian point of view. Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Lajpat Rai and the Rev. C. F. Andrews would be able to lay before this conference an opinion on the morality of opium using, which would take sharp issue with the official attitude. If, therefore, this conference could be held in London, the English people would be in a position to hear both sides and to throw their influence one way or the other.

We have every reason to believe that Ramsay MacDonald and the present splendid British Labour Government will help, notwithstanding that when Lt. Col. Freemantle asked in the House of Commons the other day the present position as to the "regulation of the international opium traffic and restriction of production," Arthur Henderson replied that the "general supervision of that traffic was entrusted to the League of Nations" and that dismissed the subject.

The object of this conference is to end the drug traffic. The American and scientific position is that the production of opium be limited to the strict medicinal needs of the world and that all other use be considered an abuse and not legitimate. If this principle is adopted it will be a first step. If America is beaten by Great Britain's objections, it will strain Anglo-American relations and do enormous damage to the prestige of the League of Nations.

The people of America are looking to the people of England to help.

What are the newspapers of America going to do to help this cause? Will they help? If they do, there must be *ceaseless* agitation in the American press—not so much over local conditions as over the cause.

—*Julia Ellsworth Ford.*

CORRESPONDENCE

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT WINTER PARK, FLA.

Editor of UNITY:

At the request of Rev. H. Ingham, D.D., I send you a copy of a set of resolutions passed at his church Sunday night, July 20th, in protest against Mobilization Day, planned for Sept. 12th. Mr. Ingham is a middle-aged man, a Methodist of fine preaching ability, of English birth—missionary in India, etc. I have handed him copies of UNITY from time to time, which he fully appreciates. He wrote and sent these resolutions on to Washington, and if you can give them space in UNITY, with a few comments, it would show that the little tourist and college community of 1,000 people that always went over the top during war can show a little pep in time of peace.

H. SIEWERT.

Winter Park, Fla.

RESOLUTIONS

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this joint body of Christian Endeavor and Epworth League that the plans for "Mobilization Day" are a grave mistake and we respectfully urge our government to discontinue those plans for the following reasons:

1. Secretary Hughes has declared that we were never so immune from attack by other nations as at the present time.
2. We believe that the war spirit ought to be curbed, and any demonstration, such as is proposed on Mobilization Day, will foster the spirit of war rather than curb it.
3. America holds the unique position of being the leader amongst the nations of the earth, and we believe that if she will show to the world the spirit of peace, in peace aims and pursuits, the nations of the world will follow.
4. "Mobilization Day" will be interpreted by other nations as a "show of strength" and will create amongst them a feeling of anxiety as to our intentions and may lead to misunderstanding.
5. We believe that a large number of forward-looking institutions, such as church denominations, women's societies, peace clubs, etc., are working for the outlawry of war. These societies are growing rapidly throughout the country, and

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

PLATFORM OF THE COMMONWEALTH LAND PARTY

We, the Commonwealth Land Party, formerly the Single Tax Party, in National Convention assembled, reaffirming the principles enunciated in the platform of the Single Tax Party at their National Convention at Chicago in 1920, declare:

That the earth is the birthright of all mankind and that all have an equal and unalienable right to its use.

That man's need for land is expressed by the rent of land; that land rent results from the presence and productive activities of the people; that it arises as the result of natural law, and that it therefore should be taken to defray public expenses.

That the earth is not now free to the use of all the people; that it has become the private property of a few; that this private ownership of the earth enables the owners of land to take for private purposes the rent of land, which is created by the community and which therefore belongs to the community.

That the rightful ownership of all wealth rests on the production of such wealth; that no such justification of ownership enters into the ownership of land, as the earth is not a product of labor; that therefore the appropriation of the rent of land for private purposes is robbery of the community, is in violation of man's natural rights, is without moral sanction, and is no less iniquitous because sanctioned by law.

That as a result of permitting land owners to take for private purposes the rent of land, which belongs to the community, it becomes necessary to impose the burdens of taxation on the products of labor and industry, which are the rightful property of individuals, and to which the government has no moral right.

That the rent of land, always sufficient to defray all the legitimate expenses of government, if taken for public purposes in place of all taxes, will provide a surplus available for public improvements, public benefits and human welfare, on a scale hitherto undreamed of.

That there is therefore no justification for taxing business, industry, labor or thrift, and that such taxes merely burden industry, breed evasions and dishonesty, drive wealth into hiding places, divert capital from production, increase the price of commodities and raise the cost of living.

That the private ownership of land is a denial of man's right to the earth; that it restricts the conditions under which the landless must produce; that it therefore lessens the return for their efforts and compels the employment of the entire time and energy of the great mass of mankind to obtain a mere subsistence.

That the struggle for existence is not fundamentally a struggle between capital on one hand and labor on the other, but between capital and labor on the one hand and land monopoly on the other. That capital and labor are the joint producers of all wealth; that together they are entitled to all wealth, and that they are both robbed of their production by their common enemy, the land-owning, franchise-holding few who, through their monopoly of the earth and its natural resources, exact from both labor and capital, and without any return to either, the first fruits of all their efforts.

That because of private appropriation of the rent of land and the resultant denial to the people of the use of the land, save at exhorbitant prices due to the consequent speculation in land values, production of wealth is everywhere curtailed and an unfair and unnatural competition for existence arises, which in every field of labor and effort turns man against man.

That all evils arising out of our unjust economic system, such as business depressions, hard times, unemployment, poverty and the fear of poverty, bad housing conditions, and the crime, vice and diseases due to these conditions, are the result of the private ownership of the earth and the appropriation of its products by the few.

That these conditions are becoming daily more intensified; that relentlessly the cost of living pursues the slender purse and robs industry of its toil; that the unnatural and unequal struggle between the landless on the one hand and the private ownership and monopoly of the earth and its natural resources on the

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other nations are following in their wake; therefore we feel that any indication of preparation for war will be interpreted against this popular movement.

6. The United States entered the "World War" to "end war" for all time. It has been proven beyond all doubt that preparation for war does not make a nation immune from attack. Let us be honest with ourselves and the world by standing by our convictions and have nothing further to do with war, other than was agreed to by the conference on the "limitation of armaments."

Respectfully submitted,
H. INGHAM.

A LETTER FROM AN AMERICAN IN GERMANY

. . . Of conditions as they exist in Germany, I can state little or nothing from personal observation, as a "Bade Ort" is scarcely a thermometer at which to register the economic health of a country when, as in our case, you count the working class the main artery. But I never miss an opportunity to talk with business men, of whom there are hundreds here, and the consensus of opinion seems to be that, if the Reutermark, under which they operate at present, can be maintained, and if the Ruhr is vacated, Germany will slowly but surely regain her equilibrium. All are agreed, however, that this will be one of the severest winters through which the working class of Germany has passed. Unemployment and the extremely high cost of living make it inevitable that many will succumb from lack of food and warm clothes. Of course, I need not tell you that the brain-worker is the hardest hit. . . . B.

AN INVITATION

TO ALL UNITY FELLOWSHIP ASSOCIATES

GREETING:

Men and Brethren, Women and Sisters—Conferences National and International in re: The various subjects bearing on War and Peace have suggested the desirability of a Society Conference for the consideration of some general social conditions which promote or may promote both War and Peace. One of these I have often thought is the great disparity of the power available to the different members of human society.

How to hold powerful individuals to the service of Peace, and not to Peace only, but also to the service of what is still more important, Liberty, is a great and difficult problem for society. I propose that the Unity Fellowship Associates meet for the purpose of considering and taking action upon this great problem in the month of August, 1925, and that the place of meeting be upon my farm at this place (Heyden) as a very suitable meeting place for those who are prepared to encounter the difficulties which the discussion of this question may give rise to. W. A. COUTTS.

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other, is strangling both the producer and the consumer.

That out of the false foundations upon which our economic structure rests, false ideas of life arise; among which are the theory that taxes should be levied according to ability to pay or on the evidences of industry and thrift (a false doctrine that is taught even in our colleges), that it is proper to take wealth by taxation from those who have it merely because they have it, that tariffs and subsidies are justifiable, and that oil, coal and mineral resources and the land values involved in public franchises are the proper objects of plunder to be exploited by the mighty; that as a result of these beliefs greedy parasites attack the public treasury through legislative channels, and men and nations vie with each other to appropriate to themselves and for their private purposes, the gifts intended for all and the benefits of which should be shared by all.

(To be continued.)

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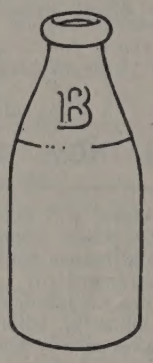

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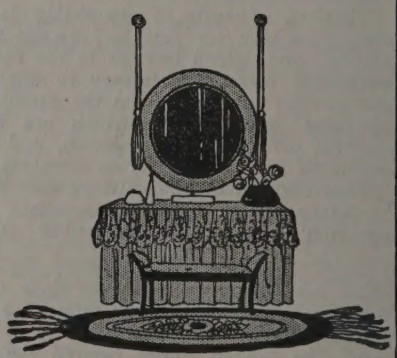

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